

RELATIONS OF STATES.

S P E E C H

OF THE

HON. JAMES CHESNUT, JR.

OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

Delivered in the Senate of the United States,

April 9, 1860,

ON THE

Resolutions submitted by the Hon. Jefferson Davis, of Miss.

ON 1ST MARCH, 1860.

BALTIMORE . . PRINTED BY JOHN MURPHY & Co.

PUBLISHERS, BOOKSELLERS, PRINTERS & STATIONERS,

MARBLE BUILDING, 182 BALTIMORE STREET.

1860.

RELATIONS OF STATES.

THE Senate resumed the consideration of the following Resolutions, submitted by Mr. DAVIS, on the 1st of March:

1. *Resolved*, That, in the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the States adopting the same acted severally as free and independent sovereignties, delegating a portion of their powers to be exercised by the Federal Government for the increased security of each against dangers, domestic as well as foreign; and that any intermeddling by any one or more States, or by a combination of their citizens, with the domestic institutions of the others, on any pretext whatever, political, moral, or religious, with a view to their disturbance or subversion, is in violation of the Constitution, insulting to the States so interfered with, endangers their domestic peace and tranquility—objects for which the Constitution was formed—and, by necessary consequence, tends to weaken and destroy the Union itself.

2. *Resolved*, That negro slavery, as it exists in fifteen States of this Union, composes an important portion of their domestic institutions, inherited from their ancestors, and existing at the adoption of the Constitution, by which it is recognized as constituting an important element in the apportionment of powers among the States; and that no change of opinion or feeling on the part of the non-slaveholding States of the Union, in relation to this institution, can justify them, or their citizens, in open or covert attacks thereon, with a view to its overthrow; and that all such attacks are in manifest violation of the mutual and solemn pledge to protect and defend each other, given by the States respectively on entering into the constitutional compact which formed the Union, and are a manifest breach of faith, and a violation of the most solemn obligations.

3. *Resolved*, That the union of these States rests on the equality of rights and privileges among its members; and that it is especially the duty of the Senate, which represents the States in their sovereign capacity, to resist all attempts to discriminate either in relation to persons or property in the Territories, which are the common possessions of the United States, so as to give advantages to the citizens of one State which are not equally assured to those of every other State.

4. *Resolved*, That neither Congress nor a Territorial Legislature, whether by direct legislation, or legislation of an indirect and unfriendly character, possess power to annul or impair the constitutional right of any citizen of the United States to take his slave property into the common Territories, and there hold and enjoy the same while the territorial condition remains.

5. *Resolved*, That if experience should at any time prove that the judicial and executive authority do not possess means to insure adequate protection to constitutional rights in a Territory, and if the territorial government should fail or refuse to provide the necessary remedies for that purpose, it will be the duty of Congress to supply that deficiency.

6. *Resolved*, That the inhabitants of a Territory of the United States, when they rightfully form a constitution to be admitted as a State into the Union, may then, for the first time, like the people of a State when forming a new constitution, decide for themselves whether slavery, as a domestic institution, shall be maintained or prohibited within their jurisdiction; and "they shall be received into the Union with or without slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission."

7. *Resolved*, That the provision of the Constitution for the rendition of fugitives from service or labor, without the adoption of which the Union could not have been formed, and that the laws of 1793 and 1850, which were enacted to secure its execution, and the main features of which, being similar, bear the impress of nearly seventy years of sanction by the highest judicial authority, should be honestly and faithfully observed and maintained by all who enjoy the benefits of our compact of union; and that all acts of individuals or of State Legislatures to defeat the purpose or nullify the requirements of that provision, and the laws made in pursuance of it, are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

Mr. CHESNUT. Mr. President, the resolutions introduced by the Senator from Mississippi are just, and therefore wise. In regard to the

subjects of which they treat, they announce the true doctrine of the Constitution. Among other things, they denounce two capital political heresies: that which claims sovereign power for the Government, unlimited power over this subject; and that which claims sovereign power for the inhabitants of a Territory. One leads straightway to despotism. The other, by yielding to usurpation, abandons the duty and abdicates the just authority of the Government. I oppose both. So entirely do I concur in the principles and the policy announced by the resolutions, that I had intended on this occasion to discuss them closely and fully; but as they have been compassed already by my friend from Texas, [Mr. WIGFALL,] who spoke the other day on this subject, and as I shall have much else to say, and may speak more directly hereafter, I will relieve the Senate from the pain of being carried over the same ground on those points, and address myself to some cognate matters in which the interests of the country are concerned.

Since the first Monday of last December, notable scenes have been presented at the Federal Capitol. The representatives of the people of the States and the representatives of the States themselves, brought together under the provisions of a common Constitution, assembled here with excited feelings and opposing thoughts. The collisions thus produced have made manifest to the world the wide and growing estrangement between them. The opposing forces have had one angry conflict; and now, each standing on its own ground, they present themselves front to front with lowering aspect of distrust, discontent, and mutual hostility. Again, they are preparing for another, a fiercer, a grander, and, sir, can we hope a final struggle? The smoke of the first encounter having passed away, it may be of some import to survey the field, and to explore calmly the causes which have brought us into this conflict. I enter upon this inquiry with no view to agitate, but I trust with the better motive of ascertaining and recognizing the truth; that justice may prevail; that the rights of each and the good of all may be secured.

For the distracted condition in which the country is found, many causes have been assigned, varying and sometimes opposite, according to the predilections, prejudices and positions of those who observe. Domestic African slavery, as it exists in some of these States, is a cause very proximate for present irritation and disturbance; but, sir, beyond this, there is yet another cause, which I have long noticed, which has been observed before, and which is of great force. It is the misconception in most cases, in others the ignorance, of the relations of the States to each other, and of the Federal Government to the States; in short, of our system of governments. But there is yet another cause underlying all. It is a false and fatal theory of society; a mischievous misapprehension of the true relations of men to each other, to Government and to society.

The vitality which is in the anti-slavery party arises out of this false theory, proceeds on this misapprehension. The life of their creed is the equality of all men of all races naturally, and therefore should be socially and politically. Their system is theoretical, and altogether French, of the period of "victorious anarchy." These gentlemen seem to me to disregard the world as it is, and to ignore the lessons of experience; whereas the people of the South, and the Democratic party of the North, generally adopt different opinions. They regard man as he

really is, not as presented by the imagination of idealists. They regard the races with their natural inequalities, varying capacities, and differing necessities. They believe that government, to exercise wisely the functions for which it was instituted on earth, must be of continual growth; assuming such forms, and providing such laws, as the natural inequalities, varying capacities, and differing necessities of the distinct people upon whom it acts may from time to time require. With these, experience is the great teacher which holds the light, while reason applies such teaching to secure the steady advancement of society, and provides for the wants of its members. One is absolute theory, excogitated from the brain of the cyclopedists, resting on visions of dreamers, which all history proves to be unsteady, explosive, and destructive. Amid eternal confusion, it is ever busy in the endless task of dilapidation and reconstruction. The other view proceeds upon the laws of nature, and the experience of the world. It moves on the accumulation of well-tried facts, grouped by generalization, and imported into the ever-growing science of human government. It adopts a philosophy which insures steadiness, peace, and advancement.

Here is a fundamental difference between us; a conflict of ideas; and according to the prevalence of one or the other must our system of government survive or perish. Now, sir, let us look into these causes, and see the practical bearing of them upon the condition of the country.

The anti-slavery feeling and action of the North proceed from a combination of elements. One is honest and earnest, though misguided, in which the understanding is narrowed by prejudice, and reason and judgment subservient to passion, wild, blind, self-righteous and reckless; this is fanaticism. Another party, embracing the mass, is unspeculative, though imprisable. This, without being possessed of fanaticism, or perceiving the purpose and ruinous tendency of the combination, suffers itself to be drawn into the vortex to swell the power of a third and controlling element, which is purely political. This last seizes upon the other two and converts them to its own use, which is the attainment of political power. This combination now controls nearly every non-slaveholding State of the Union; threatens to engulf the Constitution, and sweep from the country every vestige of that great heritage which has been transmitted by a common ancestry. It constitutes the Republican party, as it is called, in this year of grace 1860; and against such a power we must cry, "To your tents, oh! Israel," and leave the issue to the God of battles.

Let us examine what this party seeks to accomplish, by what means, and what will be the result if it succeeds.

They seek the emancipation of the negro slaves in the United States—one portion directly and by force, if needs be; the other by the longer way of circumvention. Both aim at the same end—the abolition of slavery in the United States. The relative proportion of these elements cannot accurately be stated; but I suppose it will be fair to assume that all those who are sympathizers of the notorious Brown, those who canonize his memory, and sing peans to his name and fame, are of the first class; and the proof is that their numbers are great. The third element is more unquestionable in shape and identity. We know it to be large, complete in organization, adroit and energetic in action. Those who compose it seek also to abolish slavery in the United States. They proclaim, however, that they do not intend to

interfere with slavery in the States, but, at the same time, declare their purpose to restrict it; to prevent its expansion; to exclude it from the Territories; to hem it in, that increasing numbers may press upon the means of subsistence; to make it, if they can, not only worthless, but burdensome; to destroy its relations, and thus force the exodus of one or the other race from the regions they now occupy in the South.

But this is a slow process. The general object is to be pressed on to a more rapid conclusion, if it can be done. Meanwhile, for this purpose, all the batteries of agitation are to play their ceaseless thunders. Pulpit politicians, pamphleteers, speech-mongers, and all the other howling elements of a hellish engineery, are to irritate, disturb, and endanger. The demon of civil discord, too, is to be invoked, that all the horrors may revel at the same time in the same infernal dance.

Mr. President, let us suppose for a moment that abolition is accomplished; that its triumph has been gratefully celebrated by a grand liberation of the blood of every slaveholder; that the meek eyes of its advocates are glittering with satisfaction over the blighted fields and smoking ruins of a fiery desolation—and then ask, what is gained? Ay, sir, that is a pregnant question, which the country may well heed.

I will not speak of the dissipation of the sublime idea of a great and just Republic of confederated States covering a continent; I will not speak of the annihilation of a nascent power looming up into such vast proportions that its shadow already covers the civilized earth; nor of the abandonment of a high and holy trust; nor of the injustice to the unborn millions that may follow; nor of the hoarse jeers of reassured despotism, when we prove the incapacity of even civilized man for self-government. These are the themes of the orator, and to the orator I leave them. In this practical day, I will address myself to more material considerations.

Who, then, will be benefited by the abolition of slavery in the United States? No man, woman, or child, of any race, or of any condition. If any benefit can result from such an achievement, it will redound to the interest of foreign people and foreign power. Yes, sir, wittingly or unwittingly, the anti-slavery party of this day is laboring for the interests of foreign power and people, and against the interests of every laborer in the United States, free or slave, North or South, as I will attempt to show.

If abolition be confined to the United States, what will be the result? The first result will be such an enhanced price of the productions of slave labor elsewhere, consequent on the diminished supply, that those States then retaining slavery would bound forward with such power and prosperity as would be without a parallel, except in the instance of this country and a few others at the time England passed her emancipation act. Cuba and Brazil would be the beneficiaries of the first result. Under the combined influence of enhanced price and diminished supply, there would follow a demand for more and cheap labor; the African slave trade would be re-opened, for, under the condition of things which would exist on the abolition of slavery here, I doubt if there exists power enough in the world, even if the world were inclined to exert it, either to suppress or diminish it. It is most probable that, under such circumstances, the necessities of the world, even Central America and South America, would be brought to the adoption of the system of African slavery. If that should be done, it would strike down

the proud preëminence of this Confederacy, and transfer the power of this continent further south. The first result then would be for the benefit of Spain and Brazil, or other countries having this institution.

But suppose that, under the combined pressure of the other civilized powers of the earth, Spain and Brazil succumb to its influence, and emancipation at once became universal: what then would be the result? Great Britain, with her skill, capital, energy, perseverance, and intelligence, commanding such vast regions in Africa, Asia, the East and West Indies, so well adapted to tropical productions, would command them all. Under the influence of enhanced price and diminished supply, she would be able so to stimulate and establish her system of slavery—her system of free labor, as she calls it, but slavery in fact—as to give her a virtual monopoly of all those productions. That would enable her retrieve the blunders of the past, and would replace her upon the throne. In the center of the world, reposing on conscious strength, without a rival or the fear of rivalry, she would again stretch her scepter through the earth and dominate the globe. The other countries of the world, and the United States more especially, dwarfed and humiliated, must thenceforth move at her will beneath the shadow of unquestioned power. Such would be the second result of the abolition of slavery. It redounds to the establishment of English power, the predominance of English commerce, the overshadowing, overwhelming power of that mighty Empire. Sir, that is the second result to which the efforts of the anti-slavery party tend.

Mr. President, it is well to see what has been done on this subject. The emancipation of the slaves in the United States would not now be an experiment with us. Other nations in this century have led the way in that policy. Their example is before us for warning and instruction. If we are among those who cannot learn by experience, we must be given over to impending destruction. It is curious to observe how plainly written are the lessons of the past. Let us see what classes of persons, what arguments, what philosophy influenced the British Parliament thirty years ago to abolish slavery in the West Indies. I ask leave to read from British authority—from the *London Quarterly Review* of 1831:

“But the bulk of them really know nothing of the difficulties with which the subject is surrounded. They are directed solely by abstract notions of justice and humanity, which cannot be denied to be among the best of all human incentives to action, when under the control of knowledge or discretion; but, when deprived of this salutary restraint, are among the most fallacious guides it is possible to follow. They conceive it to be their duty, at all hazards, to rescue the African, whom they invariably paint to themselves as mild, tractable, and industrious, out of the hands of a master who is always represented as inhuman and oppressive; and imagine that as soon as the fiat of manumission shall have issued from the British Senate, the work of mercy will be perfect, and the reign of peace and happiness will begin. From the whole tenor of their words and action, it is evident that they neither know the facts, nor understand the grounds, upon which their opinions ought to be founded; and like many other well meaning, but incompetent legislators, they stir up and promote innovations of which they are qualified neither by their habits nor by their acquirements to foresee the consequences, immediate or ultimate.

“Next to these, we may advert to a small but compact phalanx of politicians, who affect a deep interest in the state of the negroes in the West Indies, and make common cause with the Abolitionists, in order that they may be ushered into public place or public favor upon their shoulders. With them slavery may be regarded as a kind of stock in trade, and the woes of the sons of Africa are valuable—*ut puris placeant, et declamatio fiat*. On the hustings at elections, in halls and societies, at forenoon meetings, and in taverns, when toasts and speeches begin after dinner,

scarcely a single opportunity offers in which some orator or other does not introduce the negroes, for the sole purpose of gaining the votes or favor of men infinitely better than himself, and with whose simplicity and credulity, as soon as he has taken his departure, he is delighted to make himself merry with his friends and associates."—*Quarterly Review* for 1831, vol. 45, p. 212.

Such, Mr. President, was a description of the anti-slavery party, in 1831, in England. Although it is mild in phrase, soft in coloring, yet it is clear and comprehensive in outline. How far it is a correct portraiture of the anti-slavery party of this day, I leave to the world to determine; but this I will say, that the party now is far less excusable, because it has had the benefit of experience, in the example of a fatal experiment. Let us now see what this party did for England, and what for the race emancipated.

Anterior to the year 1808, Great Britain had the command of the productions of the tropical regions. In that year she abolished the slave trade. The diminution of cheap and abundant labor thus produced lost her that command. Spain and Portugal seized the advantage, and stimulated the African slave trade, and, by procuring cheap and abundant labor, were soon enabled not only to rival but surpass Great Britain in tropical productions from Cuba and Brazil. The importance of gaining this command is strikingly set forth by a very able and eminent writer, from whom I will make some citations:

"During [said McQueen] the fearful struggle of a quarter of a century, for her existence as a nation, against the power and resources of Europe, directed by the most intelligent but remorseless military ambition against her, *the command of the productions of the torrid zone*, and the advantageous commerce which that afforded, gave to Great Britain the power and the resources which enabled her to meet, to combat, and to overcome her numerous and reckless enemies on every battle-field, whether by sea or by land, throughout the world. In her the world saw realized the fabled giant of antiquity. With her hundred hands she grasped her foes in every region under heaven, and crushed them with resistless energy."

Again:

"The increased cultivation and prosperity of foreign tropical possessions is become so great, and is advancing so rapidly the power and resources of *other nations*, that these are embarrassing this country [England] in all her commercial relations, in her pecuniary resources, and in all her political relations and negotiations."

Under this state of affairs, the English people, the English statesman, became very keenly alive to the disadvantages they had suffered by this loss, and looked about for means to remedy the evils which they had produced. I quote again from Mr. McQueen:

"If" * * * * "the cultivation of the tropical territories of other Powers be not opposed and checked by *British tropical cultivation*, then the interests and the power of such States will rise into a preponderance over those of Great Britain, and the power and the influence of the latter will cease to be felt, feared, and respected, amongst the civilized and powerful nations of the world."

These citations from Mr. McQueen are taken from a recent publication on colonization, by Dr. Christy.

How to oppose and check the cultivation of the tropical territories of other Powers, and increase her own, became a question of prime importance. This could be done either by an increase of cheap labor from abroad, or by increasing to the sufficient extent the productions of the labor already there. To reopen the African slave trade with England was impossible, and voluntary immigration from other countries could not be expected. The only resource left, therefore, was the in-

creased production, to a sufficient extent, of the laborers already there. This expectation proceeded on the absurd idea that one free negro would produce more than two slaves. The stimulus of wages was to effect the result. But connected with this was the overruling idea that, by proving slavery to be a great "economic error," the other Powers of the earth would abolish slavery everywhere, and Great Britain be thus enabled to retrieve the blunders which she had committed, and regain the predominance which she had lost. Hence the emancipation act, which was consummated in 1838. The first fruits of that act are strikingly exhibited in the following, a table showing the condition of the islands, the exports in the several years of slavery, apprenticeship, and freedom :

SUGAR EXPORTED from—	Average of 1831, 1832, and 1833, three years of slavery	Average of 1835, 1836, and 1837, three years of apprenticeship.	Average of 1839, 1840, and 1841, three years of freedom.
St. Vincent.....	23,400,000 lbs.	22,500,000 lbs.	14,100,000 lbs.
Trinidad.....	18,923 tons.	18,255 tons.	14,828 tons.
Jamaica.....	86,080 hhds.	62,960 hhds.	34,415 hhds.
Total W. Indies, in cwt.....	3,841,153 cwt.	3,477,592 cwt.	2,396,784 cwt.

Statement showing the quantities of sugar produced in Jamaica in the years 1850, 1851, and 1852, compiled from official documents.

Years.	Sugar.
1850.....	36,030 hhds.
1851.....	40,293 "
1852.....	34,414 "

These tables show a decrease in all the colonies, Trinidad and Jamaica particularly. In the case of Jamaica we have a more striking example. After a period of twenty-two years of freedom, and after all the efforts of the mother country in favor of the planters of that colony, to stimulate the free negroes to production, we have the result of the same product now, diminished a little from what it was in 1839—the year after the emancipation of the slaves.

But, sir, as time passed on, this insufficiency and comparative decadence of free labor was made more and more apparent, as I have tables here to show ; but I will not fatigue the Senate by reading anything except such matters as I desire to group from them, for the purpose of sustaining the argument. I have caused to be prepared with great care, from reliable sources, and from one thoroughly conversant with this branch of knowledge, a complete statistical table, showing the whole relations of this subject, which I will append to my remarks.

Thus, Mr. President, the theory so pompously postulated, of the superiority of free-negro labor over that of the slave, was exploded. It proved a signal failure. Then resort was had to apprentices and coolies—a system cruel, and far less excusable than the one which existed before the emancipation of the African slaves in the colonies. To repair the mischiefs occasioned under the impulsions of a false philanthropy, the British Government blundered still further into measures which served only to aggravate the evil. For that purpose, it gave a monopoly to the free-grown sugar of the West India Islands, in order that the planters might be able to give higher wages to their free negroes, and thus stimulate the negroes to greater production. But, sir, this failed. The only effect was an enormous and unnecessary tax

upon the English people; and, according to the authority of Mr. Porter in his work entitled "Progress of the Nation," the increased cost on account of the diminished supply, to the people of England in a single year, for the sugar they consumed, was over twenty-five million dollars; and in six years it amounted to about fifty million. This is a pregnant fact, and I shall have occasion again to advert to it.

It is now conceded, by all who have examined this subject with any impartiality, that the abolition or emancipation of slaves in the West Indian Islands has proved most disastrous in its effects upon the commercial predominance of the British empire. In fact, England is now dependent mainly on the slave labor of other nations for her supply of all those tropical productions which she had before, almost without competition, furnished to the various markets of the world.

This much, Mr. President, has it done for England. Now let us see what abolition will do for the slaves emancipated, by showing what it has done. I beg leave to read an extract on that point. This extract is from a colonial magazine in the "Gazetteer of the World;" a description of the people of Hayti under the black Emperor. I will thank my friend to read it for me.

Mr. WIGFALL read as follows.

"So jealous are the swarthy inhabitants of those rights which they have acquired, that every white man is viewed with suspicion; and, to prevent his gaining any degree of superiority, he is placed under a variety of disabilities. White men may reside on the island, but they are expressly forbidden to purchase land, or even to inherit any such permanent property, in what manner soever it might have been acquired. A white merchant may import cargoes, and ship them off to other islands; but the produce of the country is placed under an interdiction, and secured from his unhallowed touch. He may procure a livelihood by his labor; but the merchandise which he is permitted to import he dares not sell as a retailer. He is viewed as a being who is degraded from his forfeited rank in society; and the descendants of his father's slaves exact from him that homage which his progenitors once extorted from their ancestors. Among the lower orders the intercourse between the sexes is almost promiscuous; not one, scarcely, out of a hundred knows anything about marriage. For a man to have as many women as he can procure, is tolerated by law and sanctioned by established custom. Among these domestic hordes quarrels frequently happen; and when they occur, the man takes his departure with indifference, leaving the women and children to load his memory with reproaches, and to provide for their own support. No provision is made by law for the maintenance of the poor; and this furnishes a reason why legislative authority has never interposed in these departments of domestic life. Residing in a climate which seems congenial to denudation, they view clothing as an article of subordinate consideration; and while they can procure plantains and a little fish, they feel but little solicitude for other food. In this state of indolent tranquility and moral depravity, bearing a striking resemblance to that of the aboriginal inhabitants, many thousands spend their days with but very few anticipations either of time or eternity. Among the higher orders vice has not resigned her dominion; polygamy is not considered as dishonorable, and other modes of life are scarcely branded with the name of sensuality."

Mr. CHESNUT. I will ask leave also to submit information which I have procured from those having charge of the commercial relations of the country as to the condition of Jamaica, showing the condition of the free negroes there, as follows:

"It appears that the colored people are not satisfied with a bare equality of civil and political rights, but aspire to their exclusive enjoyment. Not content with acquiring lands by free sale and purchase, and by squatting on tracts which twenty years ago were valuable plantations, though now abandoned to the first comer, they wish to force the proprietors of the estates still under cultivation to dispose of the remains of their property exclusively in favor of the 'colored sons of the soil,' menacing the colony, in the event of continued recusancy, with the fate of Hayti.

"For many years the negroes have enjoyed all those advantages over the whites which are the unavoidable result of their numerical superiority in a country governed under a very liberal representative constitution. Negroes and mulattoes fill a majority of public offices; and if there are still some of the most important places held by whites, it is, in some cases, because the incumbents date from a period antecedent to the emancipation; and in others, because individuals of the fashionable color, with any like the indispensable qualifications of a mental character, are not readily found. Whenever they do possess some education and ability they obtain a preference. I do not say that this is the deliberate policy of the British Government and its representatives here. It may well be the natural consequence of the predominance of the colored people at the hustings and in the Legislature—the colonial government being what is here called "parliamentary."

"The little influence and respectability retained by the whites being derived from their superior wealth and intelligence, the leading spirits among the 'colored party' have always endeavored to effect the overthrow of the former at the expense of the agricultural and commercial interests of the island; and, with that view, have either legislated against property, or refused to legislate when protection was required, and as magistrates, have used all their authority in favor of vagrancy and crime; all in the hope of driving away the remaining whites. In the fulfilment of this scheme their progress has been wonderful, yet too gradual to comport with their impatience. Its originators are growing old, and some of them, like Moses, have died before entering the promised land. A number of whites still cling to their professions here, as drowning wretches catch at straws. Hence the wrath of the colored politicians, which occasionally swells too high to be restrained by prudential considerations." * *

"I wish it were in my power in a few words, without dwelling too long on a most unpleasant subject, to convey to you an adequate idea of the poverty, misery, and degradation which the emancipation of the slaves has brought upon a country which the anti-slavery papers in the United States basely represent as an example for emulation. I cannot think of these shameless falsehoods without feeling an indignation which it would ill become me to express in adequate language." * * *

"I am induced to bring the subject before the department by observing in the colonial newspapers, extracts from some anti-slavery publication respecting Jamaica, which have recently appeared in the United States.

"Nothing can be more untrue than the supposition that the idle, dissolute, and criminal population of Kingston presents an unfavorable contrast to that of the country.

"In the interior, where the whites are thinly scattered, the police insufficient, where example for good is wanting, where the means of subsistence for man in his savage state is abundantly provided by the liberal hand of nature, the negroes give themselves up to African idleness, obscenity, and vice, without the shadow of restraint which exists in towns; and disease, the consequence of their crimes and carelessness, is gradually felling their numbers."

"I have just returned from a visit in the parish of Metcalfe, one of the most fertile, and once one of the most flourishing agricultural districts of the island. I spent some days on what was once a coffee plantation, producing from seventy to one hundred hogsheds of coffee. It is now overgrown with wood and almost impenetrable jungle, the exuberant production of a fertile soil abandoned to the culture of nature."

"From the property referred to may be seen coffee plantations, or rather the ruined mansions of five abandoned coffee plantations, which once gave an income to their respective owners of from two to five thousand pounds a year. Not a coffee tree is now cultivated in the district; the proprietors have gone; some of them are in great poverty in England; some of them have died beggars; and others have left the country, or sunk into obscurity somewhere—no one knows what has become of them.

"Their successors, the negroes, with abundance of the finest possible soil around them, which they can cultivate for their own profit, live in squalid idleness, preferring to sleep in the sun and satisfy the cravings of hunger with wild fruits, to the easy labor required for the cultivation of garden vegetables—articles now in great demand, at high prices, in the towns. Such is the dearth there, of every article requiring the most trifling exertion of forethought and industry, that I was compelled to bring from Kingston a horse loaded with American corn, intended for the food of the animal on which I rode, as well as his own consumption." * * *

"This island, like Trinidad and British Guiana, is about to set on foot a plan of immigration from India, and perhaps China, in order to supply the deficiency of labor suffered by agriculturists. There could not be a better proof of the worthlessness of the negro as a free laborer. No such deficiency existed prior to the emancipation, although twice the number of estates now worked were then in full cultivation, and although the present agricultural and other industrial products of the island are but

a third of what they then were. You will understand the cause of the deficiency of labor now unquestionably existing, when informed that the laborers of the plantations have not yet turned out for work since the first of the month, having been all this time engaged in celebrating the anniversary holidays of their emancipation, and that, after last Christmas, no work was done on the plantations until the middle of February. By the last mentioned holidays, the planters, it is estimated, lost a fourth of their crops, owing to the diminution of saccharine matter in the canes and the ravages of the cane rats.

"The traveler who lands in any of the seaport towns of Jamaica finds a collection of ruins whose extent alone indicates the seat of former prosperity.

"These traces of civilization are gradually disappearing in a jungle composed of the *cactus opuntia*, the gigantic *cactus tuna*, called by the Spaniards *Higuero del demonio*, or 'fighter of the Devil,' and the equally formidable *acacia tortuosa*. Fortunately, we have no beast of prey in the Island, and these jungles harbor nothing worse than flocks of vultures and the legion of unclean spirits generated by malarial. Amidst this desolation swarms a populace of negroes whose filthy looks and habits idleness, open vice, noisy and demonstrative obscenity, beggar description, and cannot even be conceived by those who have not visited Jamaica. The authorities punish thefts and violent crimes when these are brought to light; but with these exceptions, there is no restraint on the brutal propensities of the lower classes. White females living here must accustom themselves to sights and language which, in America, men would scarcely tolerate.

"The main edible resource of our idle population is the fruit of the mango—*man-gifera indica*—which grows wild now in every part of the island, not above an altitude of two thousand feet, although its first introduction here is within the memory of many old persons.

"In the mango season, the lands belonging to the Duke of Buckingham, at Hope, which twenty years ago were a magnificent sugar estate, supply the means of sustaining an indolent, yet miserable destitute existence. The owner of a large estate near Kingston, some years ago, destroyed all the mango trees on his lands in the hope that, deprived of the mainstay of idleness, his tenantry would be compelled by necessity to earn a little money.

"The mango season is followed by that of the sweet sap—*annona squamosa*—which also, most unhappily, affords the means of indulging in the idleness, which the negro seems to cherish above every other sensual enjoyment.

"Such are the free citizens; or rather, I should say, this is a feeble attempt to convey to you an idea of the degraded state of the inhabitants of this island. It is wonderful to what an extent the public mind in England and in America is deceived with respect to the result of negro emancipation, notwithstanding the notorious decadence of this colony, in an economic point of view." * * * * "The ruin of colonial agriculture and trade is denied whenever the class addressed is sufficiently ignorant to swallow the falsehood; or, when a part of the truth is already known, artfully imputed to the whites.

"No candid person, even the most inveterate generalizer, who scorns to consider the question from an economical point of view, could remain attached to the anti-slavery party after a visit to Jamaica. He would learn from beholding the result of British interference in the affairs of this country, the prudence of leaving to those communities which suffer, or suppose to suffer, under bad institutions, the exclusive care of providing a remedy in accordance with their experience."

Mr. CHESNUT. Now, Mr. President, by way of accumulation of evidence against the wisdom and humanity of the anti-slavery party in their efforts, I beg leave also to read a portion of a communication from Tunis, dated June 26, 1859 :

"Perhaps there is no country besides this, wherein so much misery exists—at least one-half the population (one million) are miserably fed and clothed, yet the poor are taxed the same as the rich, to pay which often a hundred fold is taken; or when no property, the bastinado, and prison starvation, must be their lot. Yet the philanthropist has traversed this land, shut his eyes to the miseries of his own color, and having taken the negro to his special keeping—prevailed upon the Bey to abolish slavery, and at one dash thousands of human beings have been cast into a state of wretchedness and want, who were unacquainted with it before; and thousands, too added to the already naked, hungry, and houseless millions. Having accomplished this much, the philanthropist took his flight, perhaps to America, where, in his fanaticism, he may make more wretched the condition of the negro."

Thus, Mr. President, thrice have we seen the foul fiend appear. In contempt of human experience, and in mockery of Divine authority, it comes with words of angelic grace upon its lips, and the flaming fires of hell in its hands. Wheresoever it touches the earth, blight and desolation mark its train. Bright promises always herald its advent; but the echo of its departing footsteps ever mingles with the rising wail of human woe. When will vain man be taught by experience? or impious ignorance bow to the wisdom of God's decrees?

Mr. President, we have seen what this spirit has accomplished for England; what it has accomplished for the race emancipated. Now let us see what it would do for the United States if the anti-slavery party can succeed. Let us regard this matter in relation to the northern States—the free States as they are called—first in a commercial aspect, and then in its effects on the industrial classes, the honest, hard-working men and women of the country.

I find from official authority that the exports of the country in the year 1859, excluding specie, were \$278,392,082. Of these, the

Free States furnished exclusively.....	\$5,281,091
Free and Slave States together.....	\$4,417,493
Slave States exclusively.....	188,693,496

It is stated that one third of that eighty-four million justly belongs and should be credited to slave labor, or to the slave States, as they are called. Thus the value of the exports for the year 1859, from the slave-holding States, would be over two hundred million dollars.

The commercial and navigating interest of the country, which is almost entirely at the North, feeds, lives, and fattens on these exports. To what extent these branches of industry are involved, would be a question of interest to those who are concerned. But, sir, in times past—in 1788—there were some wise men in New England, as there are some now. They understood this business; and I will ask to read from the debates of the Massachusetts convention, showing to what extent they regarded their interest involved in the carrying of the southern productions. I will ask my friend to read for me from Elliott's Debates, volume 2.

Mr. WIGFALL read, as follows:

"But it is not only our coasting trade—our *whole commerce* is going to ruin. Congress has not had power to make even a trade law, which shall confide the importation of foreign goods to the ships of the producing or consuming country. If we had such a law, we should not go to England for the goods of other nations; nor would British vessels be the carriers of American produce from our sister States. In the States southward of the Delaware, it is agreed that three fourths of the produce are exported, and three fourths of the returns are made, in British vessels. It is said that for exporting timber, one half the property goes to the carrier; and of the produce in general, it has been computed that, when it is shipped for London from a southern State to the value of \$1,000,000, the British merchant draws from that sum \$300,000 under the names of freight and charge. This is money which belongs to the New England States, because we can furnish the ships as well as and much better than the British."—*Extract from the speech of Mr. Dances, in the Massachusetts convention, Elliott's Debates on the Federal Constitution, vol. 2, p. 58.*

Mr. CHESNUT. Also a short extract from the speech of Mr. Phillips, a member from Boston:

"But we see the situation we are in. We are verging towards destruction, and every one must be sensible of it. I suppose the New England States have a treasure offered to them better than the mines of Peru; and it cannot be to the disadvantage of the southern States, Great Britain and France come here with their vessels, instead of our carrying our produce to those countries in American vessels, navigated by our

citizens. When I consider the extensive sea-coast there is to this State alone, so well calculated for commerce, viewing matters in this light, I would rather sink all this continent owes me, than this power should be withheld from Congress."—*Ibid*, p. 67.

There was a Mr. Russell in that convention, who seemed to have a very lively conception of the benefits of this trade. After showing that the carrying trade would increase the navigation interests of New England, furnish a nursery of seamen, give employment to the people, &c.,

"These (he said) were some of the blessings he anticipated from the adoption of the Federal Constitution; and so convinced was he of its utility and necessity, that while he wished that, on the grand question being put, there might not be one dissenting voice, if he was allowed, he would hold up both hands in favor of it; and he concluded, if his left hand was unwilling to be extended with his right, in this all-important decision, he would cut it off as unworthy of him, and lest it should infect his whole body."—*Ibid*, pp. 139, 140.

If you take the estimate furnished by Mr. Dawes, of one-third, you would have as the profit of freight some \$66,000,000 annually; but this is too large, for the North would not get it all. I have a closer and more correct estimate, which shows that the freight for the exportation of the produce of slave labor by the ships of the North amounts to \$36,000,000 annually. If you add the \$150,000,000 in value which the Northern States sell in manufactured articles to the South, or if you include the West, with another \$50,000,000, you have \$200,000,000 that the Northern States sell annually to the South, the slave States, which slave labor enables them to buy. Add, also, the profits of the coasting trade, which are very great, and of which the North has a monopoly, and then superadd the bonus of \$50,000,000 annually which is derived from the imposition of tariffs upon us, which enhances the price of their manufactures to that amount, and you may have some conception of the importance of slavery and of the South to the people of the North.

Destroy these resources, and what becomes of the shipping, manufacturing, mercantile parts of your States, and of the vast interests dependent on them? One cannot fail to see at a glance. Now let us regard its effects on the industrial classes, individually, the honest, hard-working men and women of the country. There are three articles of tropical production, chiefly of slave labor, which touch very closely the necessities and comforts of the laboring people of this country, and those are sugar, coffee and cotton. The sugar consumed in the United States for the fiscal year 1858-59, was:

Of cane, by slave labor.....	950,697,863 lbs.
“ by free labor.....	42,153,017 “
Domestic Maple, and from Pacific, (free,).....	79,520,000 “
	<hr/>
	1,072,370,880 “
Strike off slave-grown sugar.....	950,697,863 “

And there will be left..... 121,673,017 “
to supply the wants of the country, and would be about one-tenth of the necessary quantity. Nearly two-thirds of this would be maple sugar. But if we regard the cane sugar alone—which is that chiefly fit for general use—and strike out that produced by slave labor, you will have about one twenty-fifth the quantity left in the country to supply its demand.

What effect that would have upon the enhanced price of this article, which has become such a necessity as well as a luxury to the people, and how far it would be put out of the reach of the poor and laboring man,

one may well imagine. We may form some idea, however, by referring to the condition of England in 1840. I quote from Porter's *Progress of the Nation*, page 547:

"The cost to the people of this country [England] of the differential duty on sugar, imposed for the benefit of the English sugar colonies, had become extremely burdensome. The cost, exclusive of duty, of three millions seven hundred and sixty-four thousand seven hundred and ten hundred weight retained for consumption in 1840, was £9,156,872, if calculated at the Gazette average prices. The cost of a like quantity of Brazil or Havana sugar, of equal quality, would have been £4,141,181; and, consequently, we paid in one year £5,015,691 (over twenty five million dollars) more than the price which the inhabitants of other countries in Europe would have paid for an equal quantity of sugar. This, however, is an extreme view of the case. If our markets had been open at one rate of duty to the sugar of all countries, the price of foreign sugar would have been somewhat raised, while that from the British possessions would have been lowered; but it may be confidently said that, even in that case, the saving would have been more than four millions of money."

Thus, on a diminution of about one-eighth of the supply, the cost was more than double. What the cost or increase of price would be with only one twenty-fifth of the supply in the country, I leave Senators to imagine.

The article of coffee furnishes a condition of things not less striking.

The amount produced in the world, in the year 1859, was:

From slave labor.....	422,000,000 lbs.
From free labor.....	320,000,000 "

Total.....742,000,000 "

Amount of coffee consumed in the U. States, in 1859, 223,882,850 lbs.; say, one-third less than the whole production of free labor. Strike out the production of slave labor, and you leave a little more than enough to supply one single country. What would be the price of coffee, occasioned by a diminished supply of more than one-half, Senators may well imagine, from what I have said in relation to the condition of affairs in England, in 1840, touching the cost of sugar. These two articles may then be considered as beyond the reach of the every-day and hard laborer, when you abandon the products of slave labor.

In relation to cotton, it is still more striking.

The amount produced in the world in 1858-59, not including local consumption, except in the United States, was, by slave labor:

	<i>Bales.</i>
United States,	3,851,481
Brazil,	125,000
	<hr/>
	3,976,481
By free labor:	
East Indies	510,000
Egypt	101,000
West Indies	7,000
	<hr/>
	618,000
Total,	<hr/>
	4,594,481
Consumption for same period:	
United States, north of Virginia,	760,218
Elsewhere in United States,	167,433
	<hr/>
	927,651

The remainder is consumed in other parts of the world.

Strike off that produced by slave labor, and the supply will not be sufficient even for the northern market.

Then strike out this article of cotton, with which shivering humanity is enabled to clothe itself abundantly with decency and cheapness, and cease to consume the seven hundred and fifty thousand bales in your factories in the North, and thereby destroy the investments for that purpose, by which you are enabled to make profits and pay wages to the thousands dependent on them, and what becomes of the power, the prosperity, the respectability of your States? Your commerce gone, your ships decayed, your industry paralyzed, your people unemployed, or, if employed at all, pressed to the maximum of labor with the minimum of wages, and thus deprived of the easy means of procuring the necessities and comforts of life: cursed by fanaticism, anarchy and desolation comes upon you; ruin, grim ruin, glares over your unhappy land—and why? Why do the anti-slavery party pursue a course so remorseless and destructive? Is it because slavery is a sin? Sir, it does not concern them under the provisions of our Constitution; they have naught to do with it, their intermeddling is self-righteous and insufferable; but if it be a sin, it concerns us much. I meet them upon the highest ground. Why is it a sin? Do you say it is against the law of nature, which is the will of God? How do you get at the will of God in this particular? Do you go to His revealed word? Then I say to you, search the Scriptures, for they were written for your instruction, and if you pursue your inquiries in a spirit of truth, I have no doubt that your philosophy will be mended, and that your country and the world will be greatly benefitted by your conversion. Consider the theocracy of the Jews, and the institution of slavery under it. But do you take refuge in the new dispensation? I say to you again, search the Scriptures, and among the other numberless good things that you there will find I commend to your consideration the case of Onesimus, in the hands of the Apostle Paul. But if you go outside of the revealed word and say you look for it in the laws of nature, then I know of but one mode in moral questions by which you can arrive at it. God wills the happiness of mankind. Any human institution or human action which destroys the happiness of mankind is against the will of God. Any human institution or human action which promotes the happiness of mankind is in accordance with His will and receives his sanction. Thus the question is narrowed between us. Does the institution of slavery in these States destroy the happiness of mankind? Your cities rest on it; it builds your factories; it freights your ships; it whitens every sea with the sails of your commerce—employs the idle, feeds the hungry, clothes the naked. Commerce, civilization, and Christianity, go hand in hand, and their conjoint efforts receive their chief earthly impulse from this reviled institution.

But you say, "I leave out of the consideration the happiness of the race enslaved." By no means. It is an important element of the moral argument. I point you to Hayti; I point you to Jamaica; I point you to Tunis; I point you among yourselves; compare the condition of the freed negroes morally, mentally, and physically, in those places, with the condition of the slaves here, and draw your own conclusions.

In the general march of human progress there is no one interest of humanity which has advanced more rapidly than the institution of African slavery as it is in the southern States. It has stood the test of

every trial. In spite of the efforts of the anti-slavery party, so well calculated to retard its improvement, it has gone on improving and to improve, until its mission and its end shall be accomplished. Its mission is to subdue the unbroken regions of the warm and fertile South, and its end is the happiness and civilization of the human race, including the race of the slave, in all respects.

But, perhaps, some Senator, as I have heard already, appeals to his own heart for testimony. Now, Mr. President, for the impulses of the human heart, rightly instructed and educated, I have great sympathy and respect; but we are told that the human heart is "deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked;" and when it suffers itself to be driven to and fro by the whirlwind of passions, surely it is the most unwise and unsafe of all guides, and ought not to receive either sympathy or respect.

History and experience prove that the negro has no where been found fit for any degree of civil liberty. His own good, as well as the good of the world, require that he should be guided and restrained. Yet the anti-slavery party weakly and wickedly attempt to force emancipation upon us.

But, Mr. President, it may seem strange that a Senator from the South should seem to advocate the interests of the North. The truth is good for all sections; and while I am not unwilling to contribute facts and arguments that may enable all to perform a common duty, I have a purpose beyond. I desire to show the wickedness and madness and folly of the anti-slavery party. I desire to point out its tendencies to the people of my section. I desire to re-assure the people of the South of its impregnable power. I desire to convince them of their capacity for independence. Sir, I am constrained, from deep conviction, to say, that unless this madness shall cease, the sooner she puts herself on that reliance the better for her, the better for civil liberty, and the better for mankind.

I have spoken hypothetically. I have supposed that this party might be triumphant. I will now say that it cannot be triumphant. I will say to the anti-slavery party, you cannot abolish slavery; no, not though you have opened to you all the treasures of Exeter Hall. There is but one way by which you can abolish slavery: that is to destroy your factories, burn your mills, and cease consuming the products of slave labor, and induce England and other European powers to do the like; desolate your country, and with it some others; and then you may. But you have not the nerve to adopt that course, and you cannot accomplish it in any other way. You may do that which is not so disastrous to us, but fatal to you. You may destroy our system of governments, and, my word for it, you will. Great Britain is not quite ready at this time to make direct and destructive war on our system of slavery. It turns out that the combined production of free and slave labor is insufficient for the supply of the civilized world. The factories of Great Britain, and her whole power and prosperity rest on it, and she knows it. She, therefore, cannot strike at it until she gets her own system of slavery fully developed, and then you may look for the blow. To show you that this is true, I will ask my friend to read an extract from British authority.

Mr. WIGFALL read as follows :

“ ‘The entire failure of a cotton crop,’ [says Mr. Ashworth,] ‘should it ever occur, would utterly destroy, and perhaps for ever, all the manufacturing prosperity we possess; or, should the growth in any one year be only one million instead of three million bales, the manufacturing and trading classes would find themselves involved in losses which, in many cases, would amount to irretrievable ruin—millions of our countrymen would become deprived of employment and food—and, as a consequence, the misfortune would involve this country in a series of calamities, politically, socially and commercially, such as cannot be contemplated without anxiety and dismay.’

“These considerations strongly point to the necessity of encouraging the growth of cotton in the British colonies—in India, Australia and Africa—that we may escape the perils which seem to attach to our relying so exclusively for our supply, as we do at present, upon the products of American slavery.”—*London Quarterly Review*, January, 1860, p. 45.

Mr. CHESNUT. Thus, Mr. President, it appears that while England is torturing her ingenuity to relieve herself of her dependence upon us; while she is resorting to every possible method to build up her own system of slavery in Africa, in Asia, in the West Indies, we find the anti-slavery party of America going hand in hand with her. We find the anti-slavery party of America doing all they can to destroy that which gives this country predominance and power. Senators, does it not occur to you that this party is, in effect, a foreign party? It is a British party; and if the people of the United States are so far stultified as to aid in its success, may God have mercy on their fatuity, for they know not what they do.

Mr. President, I have said that in the prevailing misconception of our system of governments might be found one of the important causes of the present unsatisfactory condition of the country. As to the foundation and principles of government, we differ *toto cælo*. One party in this country seems to hold that the Declaration of Independence is the basis of the Constitution, and argue as if the Federal Government derived its powers from that famous instrument, and was organized for the express purpose of carrying them into effect. Strange as it may seem, still it is true, when the anti-slavery party generally come to speak of the powers and duties of the Government, in relation to the domestic affairs and social systems of the several States, they string their sophistical arguments on these abstract opinions.

The purposes of the Declaration of Independence were clear and specific: which were to announce an existing fact; and, in deference to the opinion of the world, to assign the reasons which induced and justified that fact. Besides these, it had no other purposes. It is true, that the framers of that instrument saw fit to announce certain political and social dogmas, some of which are true and philosophic, while others, in the sense in which they seem to be understood and used by the anti-slavery party, are fantastic and false; yet they seize on these last and present them as indubitable evidence of the correctness of that theory which they advocate. By what authority the dogmas of the Declaration of Independence are made the basis of the Constitution, or how they are imported as principles of the Government, I am unable to see. Those who take that ground must prove a fact in contravention of history and in the face of well-established truth.

The Constitution rests upon no such rickety basis. It arose out of the necessities and convenience of the States. It was formed for a practical purpose; which was, to institute a common Government for common purposes, practical and plainly apparent in the instrument

itself. Although the States were free and independent, still they were feeble, and not much respected by the other Powers of the earth. In order to preserve the liberty and independence which they had so lately won, and to enjoy peacefully the incidents flowing from such a condition, it became necessary that they should unite more closely and concentrate all their power, to be exercised in matters of foreign relations through a common agent.

The exterior relations among themselves were embarrassing, and foreshadowed conflict and disaster. Hence, also, it became both convenient and necessary, for the continuance of peace among them, that all matters of this kind should be regulated and controlled by the same common agent. In all matters arising under these two relations, it was supposed that the common agent could exercise the conjoined powers of the States more conveniently and beneficially than each State could for itself. To accomplish this, the Constitution was adopted which formed the Government. To carry into effect these objects was and is the main purpose of the Government. The interior and domestic affairs of the States were never intended to be affected by it, except in special cases provided, or in so far as the proper exercise of the powers granted to the common Government would necessarily do so. Equality of the States is the fundamental idea, and the relation which the State governments and the Federal Government bear to each other is not that of inferior to subordinate, but as parts of one system, deriving their powers from the same source: namely, the people of the States severally. The people of each State has two governments, neither complete, inasmuch as it exercises a portion of its sovereign powers through one separately, and another portion conjointly, by agreement with other States through another government. The two together, in their appointed spheres, and within the limitations, exercise the sum of powers that constitutes a complete government.

But sovereignty resides in neither of these governments. They exercise only the powers delegated to each respectively. It remains still plenary in each of the several States, which instituted both, precisely in the same manner and to the same extent as it did before the adoption of the Constitution. The people of each of the several States, therefore, can resume the powers delegated to either or both. This results from the sovereignty of the States and the nature of the compact between them. I use the words "States" and "people of the States," in this connection, in the same sense.

From this doctrine it results that the Constitution rests on the will of the States; and that the government formed by it is purely Federal—can have no other purposes, powers, or principles, than those derived from the Constitution itself; which are all delegated, defined, and limited. What the States intended and agreed to may there be found. What they did not intend and did not agree to cannot be imported; and I feel a curiosity to see how any one of the Republican party can point out in the Constitution, as among the delegated, defined, and limited powers of the Government, their favorite and fantastic dogmas announced in the Declaration of Independence.

There are yet others of the anti-slavery party, embracing in their number many able and distinguished men—chiefly those who have rescued themselves from the wreck of the old Whig party, by uniting their fortunes with a more prospering cause. These, while they agree with

us as to the history of the Constitution, do nevertheless hold, that by ratifying it, the States surrendered their sovereignty, at least to the extent of the delegated powers, which are irrevocable; that the Federal Government is that of a single nation, extending over all the people of the United States as a single community, united socially, and not politically, as States; that the Government therefore is national and not Federal; that it is the exclusive judge of the extent of its own powers, and has the right by force of arms to exact obedience to such interpretation from the States who made it. They deny that the several States who are the custodians of the reserved, as the Federal Government is of the delegated powers, have any right to judge of the infractions of the Constitution, and the mode and measure of redress. If I had time, I would go into a complete and full refutation of all these fallacies; but it is not now in the line of my purpose to argue them. Perhaps it may become proper on another occasion.

These doctrines break down all the barriers of the Constitution, and prostrate the States, consolidate the Government, and enable it, by construction, to absorb all of the reserved powers. Instead of a Federal Government, as intended for specific purposes, with its powers enumerated, and strictly limited, it becomes a Government for any and every purpose that a majority may desire. In fact, its purpose and character being entirely changed, it is a mighty and odious despotism; the meanest and most hateful of all—a vulgar despotism of mere numbers. Beneath the incubus of such a monster civil liberty would die in a day.

The theory which holds that the dogmas of the Declaration of Independence are the principles and powers of the Government, and the theory which consolidates the Government, which holds that we are united socially as one people, and therefore may rightfully intermeddle with each others' concerns, and by construction would permit majorities to extend the action of the Government beyond the limits defined by the Constitution, leave the amplest scope for the violent clashing of all those adverse opinions pertaining solely to the social system and domestic affairs of the several States,—the shock of which now shakes the Confederacy from center to circumference; whereas the true view would confine all conflicts to political questions arising under the Constitution, and legitimately within the sphere of the common Government.

If the people of New England and Ohio and other States could but understand the true relations of the States to each other, and of the Federal Government to the States; that outside of the purposes of the Government, and beyond the powers expressly enumerated in the Constitution, they are, in fact, as foreign to each other as are Great Britain and France; and would demean themselves in accordance with the logical results of such a belief, peace might be restored, and our system of governments, like the great system above, move harmoniously on, yielding daily light and life and happiness for generations to come. But this may not be.

The idea that there exists an "irrepressible conflict" between the two systems of labor prevailing in the States, is fanciful and superficial. No such conflict exists. On the contrary, the two systems mutually aid each other. There is, however, a conflict—a conflict of ideas irreconcilable. The opinions of those who give life and energy to the anti-slavery party touching government, society, the relations of man to both and to each other, are radical and revolutionary. If these prevail,

there can be no peace, North or South; for they are bred in confusion, and will develop anarchy. These gentlemen seem to believe that Government may be improvised—that it is a sort of machinery which is invented, can be patented, and may be made in the same mould to suit the customers of every clime, whether of Asia, Africa, Europe or America. They argue as if society was the artificial, and not the natural state of man. Hence, they speak of his natural rights as matters outside of, and in antagonism to, the claims of society, and of which society deprives him.

According to this theory, his relation to society and government is naturally one of war. Thus they would lay the foundations of government in anarchy. This fatal error arises, too, out of the untenable postulate that all men, under all governments, are naturally and equally entitled to liberty, without reference to the well-being of society or to their own fitness to enjoy and preserve it. Thus, in the face of history, in the face of nature, and in contravention to the every day experience of the world, they hold “that all men are created equal: that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” Let us examine this with impartial minds. Let us see whether these rights are original, absolute, and unlimited, or qualified, relative, and subordinate. That all men are not created equal, especially the negro, as compared with the white man, I think our opponents begin to see, and are partially inclined to admit. I draw this inference from certain passages in the speeches of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. TRUMBULL] and the Senator from New York, [Mr. SEWARD.]

First, the Senator from Illinois holds this language in a speech which he delivered here early in the session; he confesses the inequality of the races, in my judgment:

“I know that there is a distinction between these two races, because the Almighty himself has marked it on their very faces, and, in my judgment, man cannot, by legislation or otherwise, produce perfect equality between these races.”

The inference I draw from that is, that the Senator from Illinois begins to see, and is inclined to admit, that the African is not the equal of the white man. I also quote from the Senator from New York, a passage, which I think points to the same conclusion. He says:

“Suppose we had the power to change your social system: what warrant have you for supposing that we should carry negro equality among you? We know, and would show you, if you will only give heed, that the equality which our system of labor works out is the equality of the white man.”

In the South the equality of the white man is already established. It is not the equality of the negro that the system works out. I infer from that, the Senator from New York begins to see the inequality of the races, and is inclined to admit it. I therefore pass over that subject; take it for granted that mankind will hold the idea that all races are not equal, because the fact stares them in the face. We have only to make profit. Bring one of each into court, and who acknowledges the equality? No one.

That all men are endowed with life is unquestionable; but whether it may not be rightfully taken away, without the consent of its possessor, is another question. This goes to the root of society. Its well-being, its preservation, upon which the existence and development of

the human race depend, often require that it should be done. Hence we see that, in every age, in all countries, and under every form of government, it has been done. Thus we have the testimony of all ages and all mankind that even this precious boon may become rightfully aliened or taken away, and is made subservient to the safety and well-being of society.

When gentlemen affirm this inalienable right to liberty, what do they mean? Do they predicate this right of man in a condition of absolute solitude, and disconnected from human society and government? If they do this, we can have no argument with them, for they speak of a condition in which man has never been found in history, and in which he cannot exist. Their argument, therefore, must be inconsequential and futile. But if they affirm this as a natural right in a political condition, and thus speak of civil liberty, the assumption is no less absurd. The idea of civil liberty is complex. It embraces not only the liberty of the individual, but also the civil and political idea. It comprehends grants and restrictions—the rights and powers of States, as well as the rights and immunities of the citizen. In fact, the liberty of the citizen springs out of, and is wholly dependent on, constitution and government. To assert, therefore, that liberty thus derived and thus sustained is an original, independent endowment, which cannot be aliened or rightfully taken away, is to assert an absurdity.

We hold to the teaching of the great Stagyrice, that as the human race cannot exist, continue, or develop without society, nor society without government, therefore the political, including the social, is the natural condition of man. He is never otherwise found. The individual, therefore, must be subordinate to the social, and government may rightfully exercise just so much power as, and no more than, may be necessary to protect society against external dangers and internal violence and injury. And the citizen ought to possess as much liberty as he is fit to enjoy, and as may be consistent with the well-being of the State.

I will ask leave here to read an extract from Mr. Calhoun, which, pursuing the idea of Aristotle, presents the question so comprehensively, yet so succinctly and clearly, that I will adopt it:

"It follows from all this that the quantum of power on the part of the Government, and of liberty on the part of individuals, instead of being equal in all cases, must necessarily be very unequal among different people, according to their different conditions. For, just in proportion as a people are ignorant, stupid, debased, corrupt, exposed to violence within and danger from without, the power necessary for Government to possess, in order to preserve society against anarchy and destruction, becomes greater and greater, and individual liberty less and less, until the lowest condition is reached—when absolute and despotic power becomes necessary on the part of the Government, and individual liberty extinct. So, on the contrary, just as a people rise in the scale of intelligence, virtue and patriotism, and the more perfectly they become acquainted with the nature of Government, the ends for which it was ordered, and how it ought to be administered, and the less the tendency to violence and disorder within and danger from abroad, the power necessary for Government becomes less and less, and individual liberty greater and greater. Instead, then, of all men having the same right to liberty and equality, as is claimed by those who hold that they are all born free and equal, liberty is the noble and highest reward bestowed on mental and moral development, combined with favorable circumstances. Instead, then, of liberty and equality being born with men, instead of all men and all classes and descriptions being equally entitled to them, they are high prizes to be won, and are in their most perfect state not only the highest reward that can be bestowed on our race, but the most difficult to be won, and when won, the most difficult to be preserved."

Mr. CHESNUT. Here, Mr. President, is a theory of government comprehensive and just; the only theory upon which any free Government can permanently maintain liberty. It is the basis of that system of freedom which prevails in these States. It is the same policy which makes England a great and free country; it is the system on which the British constitution rests, and no other system can ever be permanent, exist where it will.

But again: when gentlemen affirm a right to the pursuit of happiness as an original endowment, which cannot be alienated or rightfully taken away, what do they mean? Do they mean to assert that every man may, at his will, pursue his notion of happiness without restraint of human law, or regard to the well-being of society? If so, where will it lead? Men differ often in their ideas of happiness! The happiness of many, it is true, consists in pursuit of noble, useful, and innocent employments. Such have a right to pursue them. But the happiness of some men consists in turbulence and brutality; some in carnage; others love theft; some rejoice in arson, while others seek happiness in the bold walks of highway plunder; while some, again, revel in revenge, treason and murder. Ay, pursue your happiness, gentlemen all, without restraint of human law. You but exercise a God-given right. Suggestive theory! Glorious and inciting doctrine for the race of Browns, with pike, and torch, and flaming hate!

But, gentlemen, you do not mean this. You cannot. You are compelled to take these rights with our interpretation, and with the limitations and restraints which the good of society and human law impose. But if you do this, you are honestly bound to cease to produce them in proof and reproof against us.

Mr. President, a notable experiment of these principles of unqualified "liberty, fraternity, and equality," has been tried in the world. We have seen Constitution and Government improvised by philosophy, but "the Constitution would not walk." Philosophers could not make the men to live under it. These men required a Government growing out of their necessities and adapted to their peculiar wants and capacities. So they trampled on the pearl of philosophy, and soon turned to rend the philosophers. Thus will it ever be. The Government must grow and be suited to the people. With these wild ideas the men of France, no doubt, thought themselves very happy for a little while. All barriers, all nationalities, all restrictions were broken down—the world was one. *Le genre humain* was the only bond, and *le genre humain* of all races, colors, classes, and costumes, showed themselves very joyous—almost incontinent—at a feast of pikes. They were all brothers, lead on by Anacharsis Clootz. Notable Anacharsis! Glorious Clootz!—type of man which is to be seen again in America. Happy men! for they were all free and equal, and fraternized. But how long did this last? Again we see them, and this time mixed with women, in long *queues*, swinging to and fro from the doors of all the baker's shops in the city, crying "Bread or blood!" Was such cry ever heard in American city? How ominous!

Liberty and equality cannot always feast on pikes and fraternity. Henceforth fraternity disappears; but, happy men, they are still free and equal; free at least to drink each other's blood, and equal in diabolical atrocity. And is this all that liberty, fraternity, and equality can accomplish? Have they, then, no better hope? Where now is the

heaven-born guide and chastener of man's savage heart, pure religion? Can not these new-born principles do something for that? Yes; do we not see them bring the painted courtesan—symbol of divine reason—which they parade and hopefully worship? Happy men! Are they not still free and equal? Ah, but they have not witnessed the new type—symbol of the anti-slavery God, emblem of murder and treason—the gallows, now higher and holier than the cross.

The truth must not be blinked—like causes will produce like effects. Are not these same ideas of unqualified liberty, fraternity and equality, communism, agrarianism and infidelity, sown sedulously and thick throughout the literature and teachings and preachings of the anti-slavery party of the North? You may depend upon it, gentlemen, these seeds will spring up and bear bitter fruit for you.

I cannot erase from my mind the impressions made by events and the condition of things around me. I believe that the active, characteristic principles of the Republican party of this day in America are identical with the Red Republicanism of France. Here it has changed its complexion. "It has blacked its face," that is all. If these ideas of which we have been speaking are pressed into action—nay, more, if they be not speedily arrested and made to succumb, civil liberty dies when they triumph, and our system of governments end. Then, gentlemen, too late will come your lamentations—as come they surely will. You will be held as "false threnodists of false liberty—hollow chanters over the ashes of a dead Republic," destroyed by yourselves.

In such an event I will feel some consolation, arising from the belief that we have done our duty, and from a deep conviction that the South, under wise counsel and firm action, can hold these principles at bay; that she will weather the storm, and be able to reconstruct the temple of her safety on a firm and enduring basis.